1.Gutierrez de Pineda--121 E-0 (1967) 1980 SC13 Guajiro SC13

/97/

583 (77) b) The responsibility for the support of the home also falls to the man, not only in regard to food for himself, his wife, and the children, but also for clothing for them all.

c) The Guajiro marriage, as the base of all social organization, necessarily holds sway over inheritance laws. If a couple marry in the Catholic church, they break with this law, and Colombian law is substituted for the laws of the peninsula which no longer cover them. In this way, on the death of the father, his goods are not inherited by his maternal nephews, but rather, in accordance with the Colombian law in force, by his wife and children, obligatory heirs. The custom of gifts to the sons from the father during his lifetime may go on, but these never constitute the whole of the inheritance.

583 (77) 423 d) Traditional Guajiro organization in respect to land makes of it communal property divided among the various family groups, who are permitted use and usufruct, but with alienation expressly forbidden. These rights to settle, to cultivate arable land, to pasture, to use the sources of water supply, to take advantage of the products of the woods, etc., are all denied to the couple who have married in accordance with the Catholic church.

583 (77) e) There are also appreciable changes in residence of the newly married pair, which will be seen in the paragraph about it in this chapter.

f) Catholic marriage, as is known, gives primacy among us to the transmission of the father's surname, but a marriage consecrated with the Guajiro rite does not, since in this case the children belong to the mother, are of her blood, and use her name exclusively. This fact shows clearly how, by accepting the Catholic bond, the woman isolates her children from the group to which she belonged, because from then onward they do not bear her name, the expression of her family affiliation, and for this reason her maternal relatives do not have to give them economic aid or social backing when they need it. On their part, the maternal relatives of the father have difficulty accepting the children of one of their menfolk as their children in place of their

L.G. Jiménez de Picardo--215 S-5 (1947) 1950 NC13 Guajiro NC13

/176 cont./

In the second place, we observed a limitation in the exercise of the clan's function. The concept of consanguineous kinship between all its members has relaxed to the point that consanguineous ties are considered to exist only among the closest relatives. An individual's kinsmen have become limited to his mother and her female ascendant, and to his mother's brothers and sisters together with their offspring. Some extend kinship to include relatives of the fourth degree of collaterality, and then to the brothers, sisters, and their descendants. By limiting the concept of kinship, all obligations attached to those no longer considered consanguineous are lost. Consequently, clan unity begins to disintegrate.

Another change in the concept of kinship has been introduced by Catholic marriage. It implies the abolition of the uterine affiliation, the basis of clan organization. It introduces the paternal branch into the kinship system and places it on a superior plane since the father's name and not the mother's, as it was traditionally, comes first in the offspring. /According to the Spanish custom of compound surnames, one's father's surname comes first. --Ed./ Furthermore, it destroys the authority and predominance of the maternal uncle because that of the father replaces and surpasses it.

5. Exogamy. The Guajiro clan was essentially exogamous. Acculturation has made marriage possible and legal between members of the same clan. In other words, clan exogamy has disappeared, and only family exogamy is followed.

6. Location. With respect to clan settlement the myths already quoted resolve the problem by assigning fixed regions to each of the groups which Mareiwa created. These lands are held in common by each clan, which also works them communally. The /177/ improvements introduced, such as roads, wells, and cemeteries, are made with the assistance of all the clan members who will make use of them. At the present time individual solution of the water problem has permitted the splitting up of the communal pasturage land. Furthermore, there is a strong trend toward the breaking up of agricultural land.

/310 cont./

628 Long after these payments have been made, sometimes 30 years or more later, some Guajiro groups of relatives have reconnected the family past and with it have remembered the deaths which took place. As a consequence of this renewal of times gone by, some of the present-day descendants, without having known their distant relatives, want to make demands for payment from the descendants, also distant, of the homicide group, and it has happened sometimes that the latter, intimidated, have paid again the debt that their ancestors had already paid to excess. /page 310 blank/

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XIV

LAND

623 With regard to ownership, land in La Guajira Peninsula is divided into three classes: a) land that belongs to the civil and ecclesiastical authorities and to some whites and mestizos, whose ownership is governed by the Colombian code; b) Indian land of clan ownership; c) wasteland. We will study the last two types which are those related to this study.

Clan land. Clan land includes the territories occupied by different groups of relatives and their ownership is determined by oral tradition which indicates the places where their ancestors were established in accordance with legends associated with Mareiwa (Cf. The Clan). However, the lands of each clan are not circumscribed to a particular region but are rather more or less extensive properties spread over various places in the peninsula. A single clan group can have property in Upper La Guajira and in Lower La Guajira and at the same time in different places in each of these, which in great measure has facilitated the gradual dismemberment of the clan. Each portion is subdivided into land suitable for planting crops, grassland for pasturing, woods, and wasteland zones.

/111 cont./

423 The geophysical conditions of the region limit the likelihood
428 of agricultural land, which is reduced to strips on the banks of streams or even to the beds of these streams, which are dry during the summer months, and to the immediate environs of wells. As a consequence this limitation has resulted in these arable parcels being traditionally in the hands of a number of small families of the clan group, who hold them among themselves, and the right of usufruct is passed from uncle to nephew following the maternal line, in such a manner that, within the common ownership which governs clan land, these plots are a kind of private family property. It is for this reason that a man owning a piece of this land will permit it not to his nephews, the sons of his sister, when these youths reach an age in which their capacity for labor fits them for agricultural work. Thus it is true that by this system /111/ of inheritance, the ownership of agricultural land is kept in the clan, but held also by a particular family of the clan.

423 One can also mention a second form of access to arable land: when the father cedes to his son a part of his ownership for its usufruct and in order that they may help to maintain the home. But the use of this plot can be in effect only during the father's lifetime because when he dies his nephews, the sons of his sister and his legitimate heirs, will take definitive possession of the land.
[M] Only in the process of acculturation does this system break down, since with Catholic marriage it is the father's sons and not the nephews who become the recognized heirs of such property.

One may also obtain possession of plots of agricultural land by the opening up of new land, which occurs when the traditional family lands lose their fertility or are reduced in size due to successive inheritance. But for some years this phenomenon has been quite rare for two reasons: the prolongation of summers, which makes agricultural work impossible, and emigration, of which we have already spoken extensively in this study.

423 The agricultural plot, which is almost individual property,
425 can be demarcated by its owner. We say almost individual ownership because the right to it may be sold. /But/ there is this fundamental principle with reference to immovable property:

/212 cont./

423 428 It is inalienable. That is, it cannot be sold or given to another group or to a white, as the sale or gift would have no legal value. The only element that is marketable in the property is the right of usufruct. Thus with regard to land, ownership is established as follows: 1) Agricultural products are the sole individual property, with conditions of use and abuse. The individual may sell it, give it away, destroy it, etc. 2) Traditional agricultural land is also almost individual property because anyone may dispose of it within the circle of his immediate consanguineous relatives by willing it. What can be inherited, however, is not the land itself but the right to cultivate it. And this right is reduced to a limited number of families within the clan.

423/ 428 Another aspect which we should consider in the distribution of clan land is that of the pasturing zones. Nomadic pasturing is the most important occupation in the economic life of La Guajira, but it is subject to the geographic conditions of the peninsula, and it is especially determined by the presence or absence of water, as this element is indispensable for making use of the territories /213/ available for pasture; in addition, the concept of wasteland is likewise ruled by lack of water. Water, furthermore, after the introduction of stock raising, which was initiated during the time of the Colony, caused the evolution of the concept of ownership in communal land. We shall see how.

We know that before the introduction of stock raising into La Guajira, land was distributed among the different clan groups, and that among them there existed communal use for hunting and collecting, activities that still subsist. It would appear that in that epoch the zones of greatest value were under the dominion of certain families who regularly enjoyed their usufruct. Dwellings under the special conditions of their economic activities were very mobile and improvised. On accepting stock raising as the chief activity in their economy, the Guajiro, forced by the physical and climatic conditions of the land, continued the nomadic life he was accustomed to, driving his herd at different seasons to the regions of best pasturage when this was scarce, and being guided

1: Gutierrez de Pineda--208 E-5 (1947) 1950 GC13 Guajiro GC13

/213 cont./

231 423 is this by the availability of water. For these reasons dwellings continued to be mobile and transitory, though not so improvised as before, since some were built in regions that served as general headquarters while they were absent with their herds.

231 312 423 In order to take full advantage of pasture in some regions where water was scarce during the summer, the community would dig wells and even build small dams to collect rain water which could be made use of by all those who had co-operated in the construction or by those who legally had access to them. Land which the new well or dam brought into use could be used by all those who had rights to it to water their livestock, a legal form practiced to this day.

At the present time we find on the land of each clan a variable number of wells which generally have been made by communal labor; all members of the family group are permitted access to them. Based on this indispensable need for water the Indians have built more stable, secure, and comfortable housing around these watering places, which are to be found on the best grazing land without encroaching on agricultural land and avoiding causing harm to their neighbors' pasturage. In this way every clan member in any region has ample pasture land at his disposal situated /214/ near his dwelling, on which he can graze his livestock during normal times in the peninsula without having to drive them to other pasture with the change of seasons or interfering in the economic life of his close neighbors.

231 423 361 However, as La Guajira suffers from periods of drought during prolonged summers which totally destroy all grass and dries up the sources of water, the Guajiro is forced to migrate from one place to another in search of food and drink for his herds. In these movements he calls at the traditional clan lands situated in different parts of the peninsula, to which he has legal access by marriage rights; or, as a last resort, he va de remonta, that is, he drives his herds to the pasture lands of the clan groups living in the mountains where the winter arrives earlier than in the other regions and consequently is ready for earlier grazing; hence they can lend their aid to the men of the plains /llanura/ who

/214 cont./

231 find themselves in difficulties. In payment for this benefit of-
361 pasturage and use of water a cow /res/ or goat is given on enter-
423 ing. Also, it is customary voluntarily to give another animal when leaving, or a personal gift to the head of the region visited.

423 Recently a new aspect of this general situation has risen:
425 Small but well-to-do families construct a well near their dwell-
178 ings or in the adjacent pasture land without any assistance from the community. The other Guajiro admit that the family who made this well has first right to its use but affirm that they are under obligation to permit it to be used by others when in need. Nevertheless, it is becoming common for well-to-do families to deny its use even to needy individuals of their own clan, with whom they no longer wish to recognize family ties that would otherwise bind them.

These phenomena have made the concept of communal land ownership evolve. By depriving others of access to the sources of water supply, rich families usurp for themselves the common lands to which this water source is essential. In this way zones of private property are established which permit more sedentary stock raising as well as the construction of sounder and more comfortable dwellings. These new landowners are beginning to fence off their property into veritable haciendas, a state of affairs which were never before seen in the former stages of social evolution.

Another fact that is giving rise to private ownership of land is the reclaiming of wasteland by the construction of wells, since whoever makes one becomes the individual owner of the land involved, land which can be transmitted by inheritance according to the norms of inheritance already studied. /215/

In addition to the cases noted, there is another system of acquiring land, and it is the usurpation of the property of those conquered in a war provoked by the breaking of the regimen for personal security and collective stability of a clan group. Such land, distributed with all the other goods taken from those conquered, goes to enrich the family property of the victors.

/215 cont./

423 Within the legal system regarding pasture land we must consider the aspect of the rights that each individual acquires to visit land other than those of his own clan as a result of newly contracted marriages and those that are legally ceded to him according to customary Guajiro law.

Referring to the last, we have seen that the herdsmen of the plains /llanura/ at the end of summer have the right to visit the grassy regions in the mountains where the pasture has recovered because of the earlier winter. This fact is to be found in the oral literature and is a theme of theatrical representation during the celebration of the Festival of the Kid, in which the appearance of the rains and the ripening of the harvests are celebrated.

The rights conceded by marriage alliances refer not only to pasturage but in general to all the ways of making full use of the land, including forest exploitation, collecting, and hunting. Thus the man who has married in conformity with the traditional rite of La Guajira has the right to establish his dwelling, cultivate the land, dig a well to supply himself with water, etc., on his wife's relatives' land because this is authorized in the payment he has made for his wife at the time of his marriage. This right is extended to the maternal relatives of the man because, as we have amply seen, all of these contribute their quota to the marriage. Reciprocally he /the husband/ has territorial rights on the landed property of each one of the wives of his maternal relatives. When boys of the new marriage grow up, they establish themselves, by custom, on their mother's land although they may also do so on that of the father. Once they contract marriage they go to live, like their father, on the land of the wife.

Another aspect that has to be considered because of its relation to the distribution of land is the application of sanctions for an infraction of the regimen for social stability. The clan wars which these infractions give rise to cause the Guajiro, fearful of being stripped of his property (Cf. Delicts of aggression), to spread his herds all over the peninsula on the land legally at his disposal with the end of defending them from a surprise attack.

/215 cont./

423 Some clan groups possess very widely dispersed land, which gives rise to the splitting up of the groups, causing them in time to lose /216/ cohesion to the point that members of the same name living traditionally in different districts end up by not identifying with each other in practice, in their legally ascribed rights and attributes.

The right of usufruct of the forest and sterile lands belongs by act and by law to every member of the clan, and those who are tied by matrimonial unions. The case can arise when dealing with the collecting of wild fruit or divi-divi that members of the clan oppose the latter's usufruct of their right, but this is comparatively rare, since in general the abundance of fruit does not give rise to disputes of this nature.

423 499 Furthermore, every Guajiro has the right of passage over clan lands and to use it to connect some territories with others when the land of an outsider comes in between. When it is a matter, for example, of the opening of a road, the regional heads of each of the proprietary clans get together in order to reach an agreement on a plan that will satisfy the needs of all parties. With all of the men of the two clans interested, they construct a preliminary path to mark out its course, and then from either end they begin the final work, determining in advance the place where they will meet; that is, the point where the work of each should reach. Each group must pay for the labor force and feed its men until the work is finished. Such roads can be used by all the Guajiro.

423 Related to land and its distribution, as we have seen, are the sources of water, which can be of two kinds, natural and artificial. To the first, every member of the proprietary clan of the land where it is situated, as well as those tied to the clan by marriage alliances, has access. To the second kind, the same may also have access or only those members of a specific family, according to the case; in other words, if the well has been made with the aid of all the members of the clan, then its usufruct is common, but if it has been built by one family alone it is reserved for its exclusive use.

/216 cont./

●423 764 The cemetery is also very closely related to land rights because every individual hopes to die on his own land, that is, in the place where his elders live and his ancestors lived: on clan territory; and he also hopes to be buried in the communal cemetery. These wishes and hopes of every Guajiro are what elicit long journeys with corpses relatives who died on alien land to give them burial in the cemetery of their ancestors. For this each clan owns a cemetery in certain places of its territory where /217/ the bodies of the deceased members or their bones after the celebration of the ceremony of the second burial may be buried. But in recent times many families who have outstanding social and economic position in the social collectivity have constructed private cemeteries or mausoleums in the vicinity of their family lands for their exclusive use. /page 218 is blank/

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XV

LAWS OF INHERITANCE

428 718 In the present state of the Guajiro culture it is extremely difficult to make a basic study of the laws of inheritance because with the process of acculturation taking place in the community, there has been introduced a series of new practices which, combined with the primitive and traditional forms, make the present system a structure difficult to mark off and to subject to fixed norms. We will confine ourselves to giving a few indications of what constitutes what we might call the code of inheritance, but we must make clear that the information we give is by no means complete, and it is possible that certain statements made may have to be rectified later. In general, we can affirm that they constitute the law for that section of the Guajiro community with which we have been in contact. With this in mind we continue our study.

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

been completely tamed by the Venezuelans. He, with of course his followers, have found honesty the best policy after all, and are now reformed and peaceful members of society, returned to breeding and agriculture. This shows what can be done with firmness combined with a little judicious tact and management.

The Indians build no elaborate dwelling-houses. Their best ranchos are simple, and constructed in a short time. The roof is covered with the split woody core of a tall euphorbia. This makes a good cool roof, impermeable to water and easily removed when the family flits. The rancho is seldom used for sleeping purposes; for this numerous poles (*tokpui*) are firmly fixed all over the place for swinging hammocks, often three and four to one pole, and crossing each other. Sometimes two and three sleep in a hammock. Further off other poles (*palúmaler*) are found, to tie animals up at, and a small corral or sheep-pen for the goats and sheep is also indispensable in every well-regulated family. The site of a rancho is always carefully chosen, much strategy being displayed in locating the whole, so that each rancho covers the other without itself being seen. Although villages are never attempted, yet a family rarely lives isolated. Everybody bolsters himself with that bugbear of Goajira society, his relations. Their ranchos are always within gunshot distance, so as mutually to defend each other. One is invariably on high ground to dominate the country, the rest are hidden away in nooks and corners where least expected. If one rancho is seen, others are close at hand. In case of attack, this system prevents a whole family being exterminated. One or two ranchos may be taken, but the rest escape or fly to the rescue, as the case may be. At all events the avenger, so dear to the Indian, survives. Each rancho has a distinct name. Besides, every Indian who is anybody has several ranchos spread over the country. To collect the names of the ranchos would be paramount to taking a census of the territory. The following are well-known ranchos, with usually some half-caste from Riohacha trading with the Indians. In the Macuira range, six miles from Punta Espada, is Guacerpá, at the foot of Ara-ura; chief, Caijuna, a Jirnu. Westwards, close to the sea-shore, Chómunao; chief, José Agustin, a Jallarié, a half-caste speaking good Spanish. At the foot of Itujoro, Magualpá, situated on a slight eminence eight miles from the sea, and is an important trading station. Paraliero, native name of Puerto Estrella, boasts twelve houses and three iron warehouses, with always two or three Riohacheros resident there. The chief, Pedro Quinto, is Epieyu, but his sister Mauricia is the virtual ruler. Inland, 16 miles from Bahia Honda or Taroa is Morunay, another large trading station, usually with two or three Riohacheros established there. The eight ranchos are well located on a plain between Macuira and Parashi. The chief, Salpa, is Epieyu. This is one of the most central stations in the Goajira, and is surrounded by several important places; it is probably

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

inherit. They hold him in great respect. A man's chief heir is thus his eldest nephew and he takes particular care of him. During his lifetime a well-to-do man will give his sons enough cattle to ensure that they will not be left destitute when he dies. Each clan has its name and its symbol: the jaguar, rattle-snake, king vulture, dog, etc., but this has no connection with totemism or magic. The Indians think no more of their name's meaning than we do, when people have animal names. They often joke about them.

A number of the clans are large and powerful, others small and weak, sometimes entirely dependent on one of the big clans. Those born into a big clan are fortunate, for they have power behind them and can count on support and help if they are insulted, threatened or robbed, for the members of a clan stick together whatever happens, united by the bond of blood. The same blood flows in all their veins. The Indians imagine that the human grows from a drop of the mother's blood, and that the foetus feeds on the new vital fluid—for they know that menstruation ceases during pregnancy.

A man does not possess the right to dispose of his blood or his life. They both belong to the clan. If he hurts himself so that blood flows he must pay damages to his clan for shedding their blood. Suicide is also punishable, though not at all unusual. After an unsuccessful attempt at suicide, the clan will claim damages, even if no blood has been shed. An Indian wanting to take his own life hangs himself. Such importance is attached to the shedding of blood, that, if someone strikes another and makes his nose bleed, this is regarded as an aggravating circumstance and increases the compensation the victim demands. His whole clan will consider itself insulted. In fact, one can really say that an Indian only has the usufruct of his life and blood.

It is the same with the land. The land in the peninsula is owned by the clans, each of which has its own defined territory. The cultivable areas are not large and lie round the few water-courses that are not dry during most of the year. These plantations are traditionally exploited by certain families in each clan and are inherited by the eldest nephews.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

423 614 It is, of course, only the usufruct that is inherited. The land can neither be sold nor given away, for it belongs to the clan. All members of a clan have the right to pasture their herds in the clan's territories, and every man also has the right to graze his beasts and to use wood and water in the lands belonging to his wife's clan. That is one of the advantages he acquires in return for the bride-price he has paid.

565 614 There has developed a class distinction unusual among Indians on the primitive level. A man of simple origins can sometimes marry into a high-born family, but he does not become any the better for that, though his children belong to their mother's aristocratic clan. It is, however, seldom that a man of humble family can get himself a girl from the upper classes—that could only happen if he had inherited or had relatives who could help him pay the bride-price.

583 614 This is so high that a young man almost always has to have the help of his clan to pay it. The relatives of a girl of really good family may demand £2000 worth of cattle, while a girl of humbler stock can be had for £50 worth. The amount can be paid in money, but that is only done in the south, in the areas belonging to Venezuela, where the Indians are more accustomed to coins and have confidence in gold.

It must not be imagined that this is a question of purchase like buying a donkey, a cow or a slave. It is a transaction that concerns both clans. One should not marry within one's [178] own clan. In the old days that was forbidden, but now they are not so strict, since the clans are often split into local sub-groups. The whole marriage transaction is well adapted to the social and economic system. (When, during the first oil rush, white workers from the Maracaibo oil fields bought poor girls, usually of half-breed parents, those were transactions whose legality under Guajiro law was merely fictitious.) The bridegroom's family helps him to pay the bride-price and contributes generously if the girl is of good family. The bride-price is to some extent regarded as compensation for what the family expended on the girl while she was growing up.

When a couple's first daughter marries, the father asks

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

796 to marry his partner, he must pay for her in the normal
786 way. Otherwise the young men and girls just give each other mementoes.

One of the games forming part of the dance of the kid is the so-called virginity test. The girls gather round a singer who improvises a variation of the theme: 'Let us see, pretty maid, if you have kept your innocence, if any man's hands have touched your body.' He then runs his hands over each girl in turn from the tip of her big toe, over her leg, knee, crotch, belly, chest and neck to the crown of her head, all the while trying to tickle her. Whoever neither laughs nor moves is declared a virgin and lauded by the singer. She goes and stands on one side, while those who cannot keep from laughing and so are not virgins, go to the other. Afterwards pretence presents are given to the 'virgins'.

796 When young people are gathered together as during the
842 dance of the kid festival, all sorts of dance-games and
524 pantomimes are performed. Some are connected with fertility rites, as those imitating the mating-play of turtles and goats. In the latter, the girl 'goats' are enclosed in a ring of men who try to prevent the male 'goats' from getting inside it. If any of the youths manage to leap in, they behave exactly like billy goats, pursuing the 'nannies', nosing at them and pretending to mount them. A number of the games have no erotic connection, but refer to all sorts of events in the lives of men and animals. Animals are imitated most faithfully.

796 One of the games depicts a meeting between the low-
524 landers and highlanders of Guajira. Each of the two sides has a singing leader. They exchange greetings and then each describes the situation in their homes: in the one plenty of rain, good harvests, plenty to eat and fat cattle; in the other drought, starvation and misery.

Those who are lucky with their climate then invite the others to their territory, and they all dance off in the same
[423] direction. The game is a reference to the fact that the low-
[231] landers have the right against payment to send their herds to upper Guajira at certain times of the year to graze.

/539 cont./

193 194 614 [128]

a foreign observer encounters slight variations — as has just been mentioned. For this reason, in the table (p. 5) I put in the names corresponding with precisely the sounds that I heard most frequently; I have taken the map (p. 9) unchanged from the original.

614 101 178 101 5?? 614

marks are found in the table. Every Guajiro knows them. As an established tradition, every generation has taken over the details from the others, either as clan property or as a duty. But as a result of so many hostile encounters of the clans with one another — the Guajiro even in early times made themselves known as very quarrelsome — the boundaries of the individual clan-districts have shifted. Some clans have actually disappeared, either because their members were entirely destroyed or because individuals from them were incorporated into other clans. Therefore, the number and boundaries of the individual clan-districts were and are subject to insignificant fluctuations. I was unable to ascertain when the map provided — taken from a Colombian authority — was drawn; it appears to have come out around 1935. It is also found in V. Gutiérrez (p. xvi).

3. Concluding Remarks

614 [423]

Spanish writers have reported on "castas" in Guajira from the early colonial period; the designation corresponds to actual totemistic clans. Recently it could be demonstrated that some thirty of them have existed since antiquity. The members of any one clan were entitled by common law to move freely over the whole peninsula without being hindered by the boundaries. When Petrullo (p. 155) states unmistakably,

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"Each caste holds sovereignty over a well-defined territory" /cited in English/, he correctly presents each clan area as common property. Earlier observers must have already been aware of such circumstances, for they /540/ have represented them with desirable clarity. Such a definite clan-localization is based on the mythology.

In Guajira only well-known animals, toward which no reverent veneration is shown, are known as totems; also, avoidance rules do not exist. Clan membership is determined by the mother. Many matriarchal laws and customs are observed strictly and conscientiously by the Indians; they have been described in detail by Simons, Ernst, Petrullo, Santa Cruz, Armstrong-Métraux, Gutiérrez, Crist (1959), and others.

It should be added here that particular kinship-terms were first gathered and published recently by J. Wilbert (p. 59). There are twenty-six basic terms and "most terms are applied to more than one relative so that the system is classificatory in type" /cited in English/.

Finally, the question as to whether the Guajiro feel themselves connected by kinship to their totem-animal is still to be answered. As the first, Jahn (p. 145) expressed himself on this: "Each faction regards some animal as its 'totem' or coat-of-arms. It has not been possible to find out whether they believe that they are descended from it; rather it appears to be a symbolic or heraldic emblem" /translated from the Spanish/. V. Gutiérrez (p. 173) expresses herself more decisively and informatively: "Actually there is no belief that they [the Guajiro] descended from it [= totem], nor is there any special prohibition against harming or killing it. The idea that in the representative animal is found the genesis does not seem to have existed even in the remote past. The origins that are come across in the legends do not include this idea. At present they laugh when one asks about the animal of his 'casta'; many confide... that they belong to the jaguar, to the bee, to the rattlesnake... They claim to be as brave as that animal..." /translated from the Spanish/.